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“THE LORD OF HEAVEN.”

(THE FIRE OF GOD; THE MOUNTAIN SUMMIT; THE DIVINE CHARIOT; AND THE VISION OF EZEKIEL.)

A PEOPLE worshipping the Moon-god as supreme, as lord of the starry hosts, and as their own national deity, would be likely to invest him with the functions of the Sky-god, who sends or withholds the rain, wields the lightning, and speaks in the thunder. In the solitary tree struck by lightning, his worshippers would witness the visible descent of the god. In the fire kindled from its boughs they would discern the manifestation of the god within. That the latter supposition is no fancy of the modern student, may be shown from the interesting passage which closes the first chapter of Isaiah.

This chapter should properly conclude with ver. 26. Verses 27 and 28 may be, as Cheyne has suggested, an editorial link. But vv. 29–31 properly belong to the *second* chapter, from which they have been accidentally separated by the intercalation of ii. 1–5. The latter verses are derived from the margin, where originally ii. 1 may have stood as a variant to i. 1 (the title of the book), and ii. 2–5 as a sequel to i. 26. These marginalia may indeed have been written at the foot of the tablet, page, or column (רלח) containing the first chapter, or prologue, which, as we may see from the heading “*Vision of Isaiah*,” &c., must have replaced chap. vi et seq., which once occupied this position. The original text of chaps. ii and iii consisted of five sections, each beginning with the catchword כִּי (i. 29; ii. 6, 12; iii. 1, 8).

The first of these has been much misunderstood. In ver. 31 יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה is not an epithet of the strong *man*, but as may be

seen from Amos ii. 9 of the sacred *tree* ; while, in the next clause, for פָּעֵלוּ we should read בָּעֵלוּ. The whole will then run : “And the mighty oak shall be as tow, and the lord thereof (i. e., the indwelling divinity conceived as a latent fire) shall be as a spark ; and they shall both burn together, and none shall quench them.” The conception belongs to the same order of beliefs with the story of the burning bush, but the result is exactly the reverse, since the prophet Isaiah is condemning the beliefs which he describes.

Analogous conceptions appear in connexion with the theophany which gave rise to the “altar” called יְהוָה שְׁלוֹם —no mere “place-name,” but the appellation of the deity as there invoked, and parallel both in form and meaning to יְהוָה אוּר our “Jerusalem.” We are told in Judges vi. 11-24, how the מַלְאָךְ—an impersonation, not a messenger, of the divinity—came and sat (like Deborah the prophetess, iv. 5) under the holy tree—“the place, and primitively, the object of worship” (Moore, on iv. 11 and vi. 11). He then appeared to Gideon, who presently made ready his offering “and brought it out unto him *under the Tree* and presented it. And the angel of God said unto him, Take the flesh and the unleavened cakes, and lay them *upon this rock*, and pour out the broth. And he did so. Then the angel of Jahveh put forth the end of the staff that was in his hand, and touched the flesh and the unleavened cakes, and the fire went up *out of the rock* and ate the flesh and the unleavened cakes ; and the angel of Jahveh departed out of his sight.” Compare the appearance to Manoah in chap. xiii. 19, 20 : “So Manoah took the kid with the meal-offering, and offered it *upon the rock* unto Jahveh. . . . And it came to pass, when the flames went up toward heaven from off the altar, that the angel of Jahveh ascended *in the flame of the altar* : and Manoah and his wife looked on, and they fell on their faces to the ground.”

In the latter case it is clear that the *mal'akh Jahveh* is himself the divinity manifested in the fire, which in the former case proceeded at his touch out of the sacred rock

(itself a habitation of the god) and devoured the offering made to him. And both the rock and the angel are closely associated with the sacred tree. But in the divine manifestation which decided the contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal, the Fire of Jahveh comes straight from heaven, and acts just as in the previous cases and with similar effects. "Then the fire of Jahveh fell and ate the burnt offering, and the wood, and the stones, and the dust, and licked up the water that was in the trench. And when the people saw it, they fell on their faces": just as Manoah and his wife had done, and for the same reason—Jahveh was present in the fire¹. If the incomparable narrative of 1 Kings xviii records a fact, as I am inclined to believe, it is legitimate to suppose that, after the previous drought, and before the ensuing tempest, the altar on the exposed headland of Mount Carmel was actually struck by lightning (cf. Isa. ii. 12-15). And in the first chapter of the second book of Kings, Elijah calls down the fire of God (ver. 12) from heaven, to consume his enemies, while in the next chapter he himself is taken thither in a chariot of fire which is presumably that of Jahveh.

Thus we see that the fire of God supplies a link between heaven and earth, between the Sky-god and the *numen* of Tree or Rock. And here we have to note the especial connexion of the Sky-god with the mountain-top, resting, I doubt not, on the physical phenomena of the storm, preluded by the gathering of clouds round the highest summits, and accompanied by the lightning and the thunder—clear signs to early man of a divine presence descending in the visible cloud. This is well shown in the eighth Iliad, where, in the opening lines, Zeus, who wields the thunderbolt, holds an assembly of the gods "upon the topmost peak of many-ridged Olympus," and presently harnessing his chariot drives "between earth and starry heaven" to Ida even unto Gargarus, *ἐνθα δὲ οἱ τέμενος*

¹ If "the sacred fire of Israel" were the *naphtha* of 2 Macc., we must remember that its properties would be regarded as supernatural.

βαμὸς τε θνήεις. Here he looses his horses from the chariot, and casts thick mist about them, "and himself sate on the mountain-tops rejoicing in his glory¹." So, but without the chariot, and with a sublimity of terror to which the god of Homer is a stranger, Jahveh descended on Mount Sinai². Yet more sublime is the manifestation to Elijah in the same place³, preceded by the great and strong wind, the earthquake, and the fire—but Jahveh was not in them—and after the fire, קול רממה דקה. From the mythical standpoint here presupposed and rejected, the lightning, אש אלהים⁴, is itself a theophany. It should be observed that when in 2 Kings i Elijah calls down fire from heaven, he is seated, or more probably dwelling, על ראש ההר, perhaps Carmel (ver. 9). Note also the presence (vv. 3, 15) of the מלאך יי. Among the Romans the spot struck by lightning was *sacer*, and scarred by lightning Whymper found the summit of the Matterhorn. Conversely, in Mediaeval Europe, such solitary heights as Glastonbury Tor, and the two St. Michael's Mounts—I may add a reference to Monte Sant' Angelo (and it is but one of many instances) the highest point of the Sorrentine peninsula—were placed beneath the protection of the archangel, to guard them against the assaults of Satan, "the prince of the power of the air⁵."

On the whole, then, the god of Sky and Storm is of necessity "a god of hills" (1 Kings xx. 23). But the conception which attributes to him the possession of Chariot and Horses of Fire cannot belong to the life of the nomad or to that of the early settlers in a hill country, who had even in the time of the monarchy to import their horses from Egypt⁶. Chariots were suited to the plains of Egypt and Assyria, but must have been of far less value, for military purposes, in the hill-country of Judah and

¹ Il. viii. 42-52; cf. xiv. 343.

² Exod. xix. 16, 18.

³ 1 Kings xix. 11.

⁴ 2 Kings i. 12 b; Job i. 16.

⁵ Eph. ii. 2. Cf. Luke x. 18.

⁶ 1 Kings x. 28. Cf. Deut. xvii. 16; also 2 Kings xviii. 24.

Ephraim¹. Indeed, it is very probable that the victories of Israel over more powerful and civilized enemies were largely due to this circumstance². But from very early times the stars, identified with the "sons of the gods," were regarded as forming at once the army and the assembly of Jahveh. When therefore Israel became acquainted with splendid hosts in which the war-chariot played a part of great importance, it was natural that imagination should attribute a similar equipment to the hosts on high. That this was actually the case may be proved from 2 Kings vi. 14-17, where the earthly host of Syria is over-matched by the horses and chariots of fire which fill the mountain round about Elisha³. רכב אלהים רבבים אלפי שׂנאן says the Psalmist (lxviii. 17). So the kings of Judah gave chariots and horses to the Sun⁴, but not, it would appear, to Jahveh himself, unless indeed they confounded the God of Israel with the solar Ba'al, which is just what Ahab has been often thought to have done. But it is perhaps more probable that as the Carthaginians worshipped an "Apollo" associated with "Zeus" and "Hera"⁵, so these Jewish servants of a strange god regarded the בעל השמש as son of the בעל השמים. In the Roman triumph the general mounted the sacred chariot drawn by four white horses, the same which drew the statue of Jupiter on the day of the great procession⁶, and Mommsen hence infers that "the state chariot even in the city where every one else went on foot . . . belonged alike to the Roman god and to the Roman king."

The vision of Ezekiel⁷, with its strange admixture of poetic splendour, prosaic exactitude, and irrational con-

¹ Cf. Evelyn Abbot, *History of Greece*, I, 151 and II, 22.

² Compare 1 Kings xx. 21 with ver. 23; Judges iv. 15; Exod. xiv. 25 (on wet ground).

³ Compare the interesting parallels, Hom., *Il.*, v. 127; Virg., *Aen.*, ii. 604-23.

⁴ 2 Kings xxiii. 11.

⁵ *E. B.*, art. "Phoenicia," § 14.

⁶ Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, III, xvii.

⁷ Chaps. i and x.

fusion, has borrowed its materials from old tradition, but has shaped them in the land of dreams, under the influence of Chaldean Art. We must separate its elements in order to understand them. The likeness of a throne¹, רְמוֹת כֶּסֶף, is placed upon the likeness of a firmament, רִקִּיעַ², corresponding to the firmament of heaven clear as crystal³, and blue as the *lapis lazuli*⁴, “thick inlaid with patines of bright gold.” It is indeed not clear whether the comparison, רְמוֹת כֶּסֶף אֵבֶן סַפִּיר in ver. 26 (cf. x. 1), applies to the preceding or the following clause, and the view here taken is open to the objection that it leaves the appearance of the throne undescribed. But in either case the origin of the conception must be sought in Exod. xxiv. 10: וִירָאוּ אֶת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַתַּחַת רִגְלָיו כְּמַעֲשֵׂה לְבַנֵּת הַסַּפִּיר וּכְעֵצ הַשָּׁמַיִם לְמַהֵר. Maspero⁵ tells us how Merodach wrought the dome of heaven “out of a hard resisting metal which shone brilliantly during the day in the rays of the sun, and at night appeared only as a dark blue surface, strewn irregularly with luminous stars.” The earth, the “Mountain of the World,” was at first supposed to be divided into seven horizontal zones; “later on it was divided into four ‘houses,’ each of which, like the ‘houses’ of Egypt, corresponded with one of the four cardinal points, and was under the rule of particular gods⁶.” In Egypt, one ancient tradition “taught that heaven and earth are wedded gods, Sibû and Nûît. . . . Most people invested them with human form, and represented the earth-god Sibû as extended beneath Nûît the Starry One; the goddess stretched out her arms, stretched out her slender legs, stretched out her body above the clouds, and her dishevelled head drooped westward⁷.” Or again, the sky is the cow Hathor⁸. “The head of the good beast rises into the heavens, the mysterious waters which cover

¹ Ver. 26.

² Ver. 22.

³ Ibid.

⁴ E. B., art. “Sapphire.”

⁵ *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 544.

⁶ Ibid., p. 543.

⁷ P. 86. Cf. Hesiod, *Theogonia*, 177 ἐπέσχετο καὶ ῥ’ ἐτανύσθη.

⁸ P. 87.

the world flow along her spine ; the star-covered underside of her body, which we call the firmament, is visible to the inhabitants of earth, and her four legs are the four pillars standing at the four cardinal points of the world ¹."

"In the eastern cities of the Delta . . . it was admitted that in the beginning earth and sky were two lovers . . . fast locked in each other's embrace, the god lying beneath the goddess. On the day of creation a new god, Shû, came forth from the primaeval waters, slipped between the two, and seizing Nûit with both hands, lifted her above his head with outstretched arms. Though the starry body of the goddess extended in space—her head being to the west, and her loins to the east—her feet and hands hung down to the earth. These were the four pillars of the firmament ², under another form, and four gods of four adjacent principalities were in charge of them. Osiris, or Horus the sparrow-hawk, presided over the southern, and Sît over the northern pillar ; Thot over that of the west, and Sapdi, the author of the Zodiacal light, over that of the east. They had divided the world among themselves into four regions, or rather into four 'houses,' bounded by those mountains which surround it, and by the diameters intersecting between the pillars. Each of these houses belonged to one, and to one only ; none of the other three, nor even the sun himself, might enter it, dwell there, or even pass through it, without having obtained its master's permission ³."

"The Heliopolitans proclaimed the creation to be the work of the sun-god Atûmû-Râ, and of the four pairs of deities who were descended from him. It was really a learned variant of the old doctrine that the universe was composed of a sky-god, Horus, supported by his four children and their four pillars ; in fact, the four sons of the Heliopolitan cosmogony, Shû and Sibû, Osiris and Sît, were occasionally substituted for the four elder gods of the 'houses' of the world ⁴."

And when Râ, the sun-god and first king of Egypt, would take leave of earth, "Nûit . . . changed herself into a cow, and placed the Majesty of Râ upon her back." Later on "he again mounted the cow, who rose, supported on her four legs as on so many pillars ; and her belly, stretched out above the earth like a ceiling, formed the sky . . . Nûit, suddenly transported to unaccustomed heights, grew frightened, and cried for help : 'For pity's sake give me supports to sustain me.' " This was the origin of the support-gods. They came

¹ Compare the figures, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 86, 89, 129, and 169.

² For the four pillars and their hieroglyphic representation, vide *ibid.*, pp. 16, 17, with note.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁴ Pp. 141, 142.

and stationed themselves by each of her four legs, steadying these with their hands, and keeping constant watch over them. As this was not enough to reassure the good beast, “Râ said, ‘My son Shû, place thyself beneath my daughter Nûit, and keep watch on both sides over the supports, who live in the twilight; hold thou her up above thy head, and be her guardian.’ Shû obeyed; Nûit composed herself, and the world, now furnished with the sky which it had hitherto lacked, assumed its present symmetrical form¹.”

These barbarous and grotesque myths, so various in form, so consistent in significance, enable us to judge as well of the intention as of the superior elevation and refinement of the idea presented by Ezekiel. He too has his answer to the question, “Who sustains the firmament which bears the throne of God?” And he represents it as supported by four animated beings, *חַיִּיִּם*, corresponding, as we may safely presume, in the first instance, to the cardinal points and the related quarters of the heavens. They are covered *all over*² with eyes, that is, with stars, as in the well-known epigram, ascribed to Plato:—

Star of my life! Oh, might I Heaven be,
And gaze with myriad eyes on thee!

And in the second place, these supernatural bearers, now at rest, now in motion—“when they stood, they let down their wings”—inasmuch as they not only sustain the firmament on high, but also transport the throne of Jahveh from place to place, in accordance with his will, must correspond, not only to the fixed points of the compass, the four quarters of the world, but also to the *winds* which proceed from, or (according to the conception of Zechariah, vi. 6) toward them. Ezekiel stood too near the age of Deuteronomy, and, it may be thought, possessed too lofty an imagination, to adopt the horse as a symbol of the winds of God. But we may safely use the language of the later prophet to interpret the conception of his pre-

¹ *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 167-9.

² Ezek. x. 12. But the text is by no means free from suspicion.

decessor. אלה ארבע רוחות השמים יוצאות מהתיצב על אדון כל הארץ.
Cf. Ps. xviii. 11 :—

וירכב על כרוב ויעף
וידא על כנפי רוח

Whence it appears (a) that Jahveh rides upon a cherub ; (b) that the cherub is singular ; (c) that the cherub is the wind. In Ps. civ. 3, 4, Jahveh is described as :—

השם עבים רכובו
המהלך על כנפי רוח
עשה מלאכיו רוחות
משרתיו אש להט

Here, though "he maketh the clouds his chariot" (cf. Ezek. i. 4 גרול ענן), yet, as in the prophet's vision, "he goeth on the wings of the wind," and "maketh the winds his angels"—for *mal'akh* is, in origin, more than messenger.

It follows from what has been said that the *חיות* of Ezekiel are *winds*, that they are *cherubim*, and that they are מלאכי יהוה. The first of these propositions is further illustrated and confirmed by a characteristic feature of the prophet's description. It would seem that he conceives the four winds as proceeding, each in an undeviating course, from one end of heaven to the other—they *cannot turn* (see i. 12). This involves a serious inconsistency. It was, we may presume, the high purpose of Ezekiel to express the omnipresence of Israel's God. Therefore all the four winds must be associated with the chariot of Jahveh, though obviously it can only proceed in one direction at a time. Zechariah solved the problem by separating the four winds ; Ezekiel by assigning to each one the four faces, and the four natures, proper to the several elements of his conception.

We have now to inquire into the origin of these. They are, I conceive, strictly, מלאכי יהוה. The instances are many of the manifestation or embodiment of God in human form, in colloquy with the patriarchs and heroes of Israel. But the Israelites who worshipped the Calf of Aaron at

Bethel, or the Serpent of Moses at Jerusalem, must have regarded these also as embodiments of the national deity. We may reasonably place a similar interpretation on the lions which, as well as oxen and cherubim, figured among the ornaments of the Temple (1 Kings vii. 29), where, doubtless, Ezekiel may have seen them. Lastly, we cannot find among animal forms one more appropriate to the Sky-god than that of the eagle (compare the fine image in Deut. xxxii. 11). With the progress, or the reform, of religion in Israel, these beings exchanged the character of divine incarnations for that of supernatural ministers (cf. Ps. civ. 4 sup. cit.). The שָׁרָף of Num. xxi. 8, presumably a שָׁרָף מְעוֹפֵף (Isa. xiv. 29, xxx. 6), was replaced by a six-winged, yet otherwise anthropomorphic שְׂרָפִים of Isa. vi, attendant on the throne of Jahveh. In the vision of Ezekiel, clearly modelled on, or suggested by, that of Isaiah, either the seraphim are tacitly rejected or the Face of Man is all of them that survives.

Ezek. x. 14, in which the face of the Cherub is (by implication) identified with that of the Ox, is treated both by Toy, in the Polychrome Bible, and by Cheyne (art. "Cherub," col. 742, n. 5) as a gloss. Even so, it represents an ancient opinion, which receives strong confirmation from the remarkable and significant circumstance that *all* the four beings have hooves like the hooves of a calf (i. 7). There could not be clearer proof that the cherubim share the nature of the Calf of Bethel.

It is possible that in this mythology of the heavens, the Ox or Calf was once associated with the "Bull of Anu," the Moon, and the Lion in like manner with the power and fierceness of the Sun. But this is not the signification in which they are employed by Ezekiel. If, however, we suppose the Face of Man directed to the East, then (i. 10) the Lion's Face will be appropriately turned toward the South (אל הַיָּמִין: cf. חִמָּן), the region of noonday Sun and parching Wind; the Face of the Eagle, or rather *Vulture*, toward the West, which we shall see in the sequel to be

specially the region of the Dead; while perhaps we may discover a reason to connect not the Ox, nor yet the Moon as such, but the "Bull of Anu," considered as Lord of Heaven, with the dominion of the North.

Confirmation of these hypotheses may be found in the learned, though subjective, article of Winckler upon Sinai and Horeb, § 2: "when the sun . . . is at the most southerly point of its course in the zodiac . . . the corresponding full moon being in opposition is at the most northerly point." Again, "the Babylonian view . . . takes as its point of orientation . . . the E. (= that which is before, קדם), and thus for it the N. is to the left, the S. to the right, and the W. behind" (col. 4631). It would seem that these four points were respectively assigned to Marduk, Ninib, Nabu, and Nergal (see col. 4630); to Marduk, as I understand, the East, to Ninib the North, the South to Nergal, and the West to Nabu (col. 4631).

In the Babylonian story of the Deluge we have a parallel to Ezekiel's vision far too close to be accidental. (See Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 568; and King, *First Steps in Assyrian*, pp. 166-7.) "When the early dawn appeared, there came up from the horizon (*ishid shamē* = the foundation of heaven) a black cloud." (Cf. Ezek. i. 4; Ps. xviii. 8 seq.) The god within is Rammanu, the Hebrew Rimmon, the Thunderer. But the point which most concerns us is that he is accompanied by Nabu and Marduk, by Nergal¹ and Ninib. The two former deities are described in this passage as *guzalē* "messengers" (King), or as "throne-bearers²" (Maspero), while earlier in the narrative (Maspero, 566; King, 162) Ninib is called *guzalu* of the great gods. Meanwhile "The Anunnaki carried their torches, with their brightness they light up the land"—exercising a function which has plausibly been

¹ So Maspero, loc. cit., compared with p. 647, n. 5. Observe that his symbol was the lion. *E. B.*, art. "Nergal."

² This involves reading the group of signs not phonetically as *gu-za-la*, but ideographically as *kussu* + *šaḡālu*.

ascribed to the Hebrew *seraphim*, of whom, as we have seen, Ezekiel avoids all mention. It is clear, I think, that they correspond to the משרתים of Ps. civ. 4, just as the מלאכים of the preceding clause correspond to the חיות, or *cherubim*, of Ezekiel, and the gods of Chaldea.

We are now in a position to judge in what manner the great phenomena of Nature presented themselves to the apprehension of the prophet and his hearers. “There is One enthroned upon the heavens, but it is Jahveh; there is indeed a god who rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm, but it is the God of Israel. Four mighty beings bear aloft the firmament, and rule the winds: these also are his ministers.” Such is the interpretation of the vision. And, as the movements of the atmosphere are represented by the חיות, so the revolution of the celestial sphere, and the wandering course of the planets, find expression in the אופנים. As there was originally but one Cherub (Ps. xviii. 11), so was there originally but one Wheel; for the four do not differ in kind. Each must apparently be conceived as consisting of two intersecting circles—it would seem of equal diameter—capable therefore, as a whole, of rolling from east to west, from north to south, or in the reverse directions, but incapable of any other motion, of turning upon an axle, or of forming part of any mechanical construction. (By this time we begin to perceive that the “chariot” is not a chariot at all, nor in fact does Ezekiel call it so.) The Wheel is moved *from within* by the inspiration of the several winds, and in their respective directions כי רוח הרה באופנים (vers. 19, 20, 21). And even as they do, it serves in some manner to sustain and to transport the Throne of God. The periphery is full of eyes—that is, as I suppose, of stars—round about, and, in fine, the Wheel clearly represents either the celestial sphere, or more precisely, the Zodiac. Its fourfold motions express, and were perhaps designed to explain, the diurnal revolution of the heavens, the displacement of the planets in latitude, and their sometimes retrograde course. This

then is the otherwise obscure נלל of x. 13, and not improbably of Ps. lxxvii. 19, where the rendering of Kimchi is more trustworthy than the speculations of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (art. "Wheel"). Were we to suppose each planet provided with a distinct wheel or sphere—האופן בהוך האופן—we should approach very nearly the Ptolemaic astronomy.

"The gods principally worshipped," writes Winckler, "are the moon, the sun, and the five planets. Their periods of revolution mark the divisions of time—month, year, and larger cycles—and compel attention by their importance for the course of natural life (Gen. i. 14, viii. 22). In the Babylonian view of these seven great divinities, the planet Venus is associated with the moon and the sun, so that the three together become rulers of the Zodiac (the *šupuk šamē*—i. e. the highway of heaven, along which the seven travel). 'He (Bel) appointed Sin, Šamaš, and Ištar to rule in the Zodiac'" (Art. "Sinai and Horeb," col. 4630).

If Ezekiel accepted the tradition which represented the patriarch as a sojourner in Haran, or, according to the Priestly Code, in Ur of the Chaldees, and, in either case, a client of the god Sin; and if he retained some measure of respect for the myth which, as I suppose, regarded the Moon's disk as the Face or Presence of the Lord of Heaven, we can the better understand why he conceived the celestial Wheel as bearing in its revolutions the divine Throne.

It is interesting, and may prove instructive, to compare with the conceptions of Ezekiel the description, drawn from Philo of Byblos, of the image of El¹, or "Kronos" ascribed to the Egyptian Thoth². I quote Cary's version³:

"But before these things the god Taautus, having represented Ouranos, made types of the countenances of the gods Kronus and Dagon, and the sacred character of the other elements. He contrived also for Kronus the ensign of his royal power, having four eyes in the parts before and in the parts behind, two of them closing as in sleep; and upon the shoulders four wings, two in the act of flying, and two reposing as at rest. And the symbol was, that Kronus whilst he

¹ Cf. Meyer, art. "Phoen.," col. 3743.

² *Taavros*, v. l. *Tavθos*.

³ *Ancient Fragments*, ed. Hodges, 1876, p. 18.

slept was watching, and reposed whilst he was awake. And in like manner with respect to his wings, that whilst he rested he was flying, yet rested whilst he flew. But to the other gods there were two wings only to each upon his shoulders, to intimate that they flew under the control of Kronus; he had also two wings upon his head, the one for the most governing part, the mind, and one for the sense.”

We can hardly fail to recognize in this image of un-sleeping motion, “without haste and without rest,” the eternal swift course of the spheres¹.

NOTE.—“Irenaeus, too, finds the rationale for the ‘four’ gospels in the fact that there are four quarters of the globe and four winds (πνεύματα); since, further, the church extends over all the world, while its ‘pillars and grounds’ and spirit of life (πνεῦμα ζωῆς) are the gospel, it is fitting that she should have four pillars breathing out (πνέοντες) immortality on every side, and vivifying men afresh.” *E. B.* “John, Son of Zebedee,” § 49 b. This shows that Irenaeus understood Ezekiel, and (with all deference to Prof. Schmiedel) it is no mere *verbal* trifling, but rests upon the mystical assumption of a correspondence between the outer and inner worlds.

In *J. Q. R.*, XI, p. 13 (“The Testament of Solomon”), Mr. Conybeare cites from Origen an account of “the seven ruling demons” referred to by Celsus, and accepted, it would seem, by the Ophiani. The first was shaped like a lion; this is Michael. The second like an ox; this is Suriel. The third resembles a dragon, and this is Raphael. The name may imply a reference to the healing powers of the serpent-god. It is important to observe that the similitude of the dragon replaces the Face of Man in Ezekiel’s vision. And the fourth, Gabriel, “has the shape of an eagle.”

It is an astonishing reflection that through the influence of Ezekiel and Irenaeus, the Lion of Nergal, successively transferred to the Angel of the South and the Evangelist

¹ Hymn of the Three Archangels in Shelley’s translations from *Faust*.

St. Mark, became in the Middle Ages the emblem of the Venetian Republic, and so remained until Venice fell before Napoleon.

Another instructive parallel may be added from Mr. A. B. Cook's most valuable papers on The European Sky-god (*Folk-lore*, vol. XV, p. 425, note 333).

"Lyd. *de mens.*, i. 22 ὅτι ἔφερον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολέμων Διὸς καὶ Ἥλιου καὶ Σελήνης, Ἑρμοῦ τε καὶ Ἄρεος σύμβολα· καὶ Διὸς μὲν ἄετόν, Ἥλιου δὲ λέοντα, Σελήνης δὲ βοῦν, Ἄρεος δὲ λύκον, Ἑρμοῦ δὲ δράκοντα."

I may add a reference to Hesiod, *Theogonia*, 378-82:—

Ἄσπραίφ δ' Ἥως ἀνέμους τέκε καρτεροθύμους,
ἀργέστην Ζέφυρον Βορέην τ' αἰψηροκέλευθον
καὶ Νότον, ἐν φιλότῃθι θεὰ θεῶ εὐνηθείσα.
τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἄστέρᾳ τίκτ' Ἥοσφόρον Ἡριγένεια
ἄστρα τε λαμπετόωντα, τὰ τ' οὐρανὸς ἔστεφάνωται.

The four quarters of the sky, and the winds associated with them, as well as the stars with which heaven is girdled, may naturally be regarded as children of the "starry" sky—for Ἄσπραῖος can only be an epithet of heaven in origin. But the personality, or divinity of the East seems to be merged in that of the morning star—ליליין בן שחר (Isa. xiv. 12). Hence Dawn is the spouse of Heaven.

I must also refer to Mr. Cook's note on the fourfold Apollo (*F. L.*, XV, 284, n. 147); his mention of the Argive Zeus, surnamed Πανόπτης, with eyes all over his body (*ibid.*, p. 287); his note on the *aenei orbes*, the *urfeta*=*orbita*, and *summanalia* associated with celestial deities in ancient Italy (*F. L.*, XVI, 272, n. 9), and his remarks on the royal, or divine, chariot (*ibid.*, pp. 307, 318).

In the *Hibbert Journal* for October, 1905, No. 13, at p. 220, Dr. Jeremias writes, with reference to the N. T. Apocalypse: "The throne-bearers are the four forms of the *Mercabah* of Ezekiel, which in the old Oriental imagery represent the four corners of the world: (1) the steer (Marduk—Jupiter); (2) the man (Nebo—Mercury); (3) the

eagle (Ninib—Mars); (4) the lion (Nergal—Saturn).” It is certainly appropriate to assign the Face of Man to the God of Speech; and this is in accordance with the words of Lydus, *Ἑρμοῦ δὲ δράκοντα*, if we recognize that as in the case of the Hebrew Seraphim, and in the symbolism of Ezekiel compared with that of the Ophiani, the human form has replaced that of the Serpent.

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